Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 07135 01 OF 02 191643Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
----------103062 191648Z /50
P R 191614Z AUG 77
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 463
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 7135

EXDIS USSALTTWO

EO 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR EARLE'S STATEMENT OF AUG 19, 1977
(SALT TWO 1360)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR EARLE
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF AUG 19, 1977:

MR. MINISTER:

I. TODAY I WOULD LIKE TO REVIEW THE PROGRESS OF OUR
NEGOTIATIONS SINCE WE BEGAN OUR CURRENT SESSION ON
MAY 11.

IT IS THE VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION THAT
THE ACOCOMPLISHMENTS THUS FAR IN THIS SESSON SHOULD BE A
CAUSE FOR SOME SATISFACTION, EVEN THOUGH WE RECOGNIZE
THAT IMPORTANT WORK STILL LIES BEFORE THE TWO DELEGATIONS.

II. AT THE FIRST PLENARY MEETING, ON MAY 13 THE UNITED
STATES DELEGATION NOTED THREE ISSUES WHICH, IN OUR VIEW,
COULD BE RESOLVED DURING THIS SESSION. THESE WERE MIRV
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 07135 01 OF 02 191643Z

VERIFICATION, DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES, AND AN
AGREED DATA BASE. THE SOVIET DELEGATION IDENTIFIED THE
SUBJECTS OF NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND NON-TRANSFER AS MATTERS
IN WHICH IT WAS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED.

ON THE ISSUE OF MIRV VERIFICATION, IT HAS APPEARED
THAT THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES WERE CONVERGING. WITH

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

RESPECT TO PARA 5 OF ARTICLE II AND ITS ASSOCIATED
AGREED STATEMENT, THE SIDES ARE NEAR AGREEMENT ON WHICH
ICBMS AND SLBMS, NOW AND IN THE FUTURE, WILL BE CONSIDERED
MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. SOME PROGRESS HAS ALSO BEEN
MADE WITH RESPECT TO THE ASSOCIATION OF A MIRVED MISSILE
WITH A PARTICULAR LAUNCHER, AND WE ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT,
ONCE THAT ASSOCIATION HAS BEEN MADE, ALL LAUNCHERS OF
THAT SAME TYPE WILL BE CONSIDERED MIRV LAUNCHERS. THE
SIDES MUST NOW REACH AGREEMENT ON THE CIRTERIA FOR ESTAB-
LISHING THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN A PARTICULAR LAUNCHER
WHICH HAS BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH A MIRVED MISSILE AND OTHER
LAUNCHERS OF THE SAME TYPE.

WITH RESPECT TO DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES,
THE U.S. DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT THE NEW TEXT
FOR PARA 3 OF ARTICLE XVI RECENTLY TABLED BY THE
SOVIET DELEGATION IS A CONSTRUCTIVE STEP TOWARD RESOL-
UTION OF THE OVERALL PROBLEM. WE HOPE THAT COMPARABLE
PROGRESS CAN BE MADE IN NARROWING DIFFERENCE WHICH CUR-
RENTLY APPEAR IN THE DRAFT LANGUAGE OF THE ASSOCIATED
AGREED STATEMENT. IN THIS CONTEXT, HOWEVER, I MUST NOTE
THAT THE U.S. REJECTS THE VIEW THAT METHODS OF
TRANSMITTING TELEMETRY SHOULD BE EXEMPT FORM THE PROHI-
BITION ON DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES. THE U.S.
BELIEVES THERE CAN BE NO EXCEPTIONS TO TE OBLI-
GATION NOT TO USE MEASURES WHICH DELIBERATELY IMPEDE
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VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS. THIS IS A
QUESTION OF POLICY, NOT A TECHNICAL MATTER TO BE LEFT TO
THE DISCRETION OF EACH SIDE.

WITH RESPECT TO THE U.S. PROPOSAL FOR AN
AGREED DATA BASE, THE U.S. DELGATION HS EX-
PLAINED ITS VIEWS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS AND, ON JULY 6,
PROPOSED A FORMAT FOR THE EXCHANGE OF DATA. IN CONJUNC-
TION WITH THIS PROPOSAL, THE U.S. HAS MADE CER-
TAIN SUGGESTIONS REGARDING ITS IMPLEMENTATION. IN THIS
CONNECTION, THE SIDES HAVE REACHED AGREEMENT ON MUCH OF
ARTICLE XI AND ALL OF ARTICLE XVII, CONTINGENT ON AN
AGREED DATA BASE. THE USEFULNESS OF SUCH A DATA BASE
IN ASSURING THE SIDES THAT OBLIGATIONS AND DEFINITIONS
IN THE NEW AGREEMENT ARE COMMONLY UNDERSTOOD AND APPLIED
IN A UNIFORM MANNER SHOULD BE EVIDENT. THE U.S.
AWAITS FURTHER SOVIET VIEWS ON THIS MATTER.

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 07135 02 OF 02 191653Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
----------103243 191659Z /50
P R 191614Z AUG 77
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 464
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 7135

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AS TO NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND NON-TRANSFER, THE U.S. DELEGATION ADDRESSED THIS SUBJECT WHEN IT TABLED LANGUAGE ON AUG 12 FOR A NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISION. AS INDICATED THEN, THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT ENTER INTO ANY AGREEMENT WITH THE INTENTION OF CIRCUMVENTING IT, AND THE PROPOSAL WE HAVE TABLED SHOULD ALLAY THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY THE SOVIET DELEGATION.

III. IN REVIEWING OUR PROGRESS, I ALSO AM PLEASED TO NOTE THAT THE SIDES HAVE ADOPTED AN AGREED STATEMENT AND A COMMON UNDERSTANDING IN ASSOCIATION WITH SUBPARAGRAPH 2(B) OF ARTICLE VII, DESIGNATING CURRENT TEST RANGES WHERE ICBMS ARE TESTED. THE SIDES IN THE DRAFTING GROUP HAVE ALSO ADOPTED AN AGREED STATEMENT TO ACCOMPANY PARA 3 OF ARTICLE XVI, RESOLVING EARLIER DIFFERENCES OF VIEW WITH REGARD TO TESTING OF PENETRATION AIDS.

ALSO DURING THE CURRENT SESSION, THE U.S. ADDRESSED THE MATTER OF THE SOVIET LAND-MOBILE LAUNCHER WHICH, BASED ON NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, APPEARS CAPABLE OF LAUNCHING BOTH SS-20 IRBMS AND SS-16 ICBMS. THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS MADE CERTAIN PROPOSALS WHICH BEAR
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SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 07135 02 OF 02 191653Z

ON THE GENERAL ISSUE OF DUAL-CAPABLE LAUNCHERS BUT HAS NOT YET RESPONDED TO THE SPECIFIC CONCERNS OF THE U.S. REGARDING THE SS-16/SS-20 PROBLEM. I WOULD NOTE THAT IN THE CONTEXTOF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR PARA 8 OF ARTICLE IV, THE
U.S. HAS PROPOSED THAT, IN THE NEW AGREEMENT
TO LAST THROUGH 1985, THE SOVIET UNION AGREE TO BAN THE
FURTHER TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF THE SS-16 ICBM AND TO
BAN ALL PRODUCTION OF SS-16 ICBM COMPONENTS. ACCEPTANCE
OF THIS PROPOSAL BY THE SOVIET UNION WOULD ALLAY THE
CONCERNS OF THE U.S. AND WOULD OBVIATE THE
NEED TO INCLUDE THE LAUNCHERS OF THE TYPE ASSOCIATED WITH
THE SS-20 IRBM IN THE AGGREGATE LIMITATION.

IV. FINALLY, I NOTE THAT THE DELEGATIONS NOW HAVE BE-
FORE THEM CERTAIN NEW ISSUES, WHICH WE HAVE BEGUN TO
ADDRESS. THE SIDES APPEAR TO SHARE A COMMON VIEW THAT
THESE ISSUES ARE TO BE DEALT WITH IN THE CONTEXT OF A
3 PART FRAMEWORK, NAMELY, THE AGREEMENT TO LST
THROUGH 1985, A PROTOCOL, AND A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES
FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS.

BOTH SIDES HAVE OUTLINED THEIR POSITIONS ON ONE OF
THESE ISSUES, THAT IS, REDUCTIONS IN THE AGGREGATE
NUMBERS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. HOWEVER, THE U.S.
IS DISAPPOINTED THAT THE REDUCTIONS PROPOSED BY
SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT BE AS COMPREHENSIVE, AS FAR-
REACHING, NOR AS TIMELY AS THOSE THE US.
BELIEVES ARE DESIRABLE.

ANOTHER OF THESE ISSUES WHICH BOTH SIDES HAVE AD-
DRESSED IS LIMITATIONS ON MOVILE ICBM LAUNCHERS. THERE
IS SOME DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS ON HOW MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS
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ARE TO BE DEALT WITH, IN THE AGREEMENT LASTING THROUGH
1985 AND IN A PROTOCOL OF SHORTER DURATION. ON THE
BASIS OF INITIAL EXHCANGES ONTHIS MATTER, HOWEVER, THE
U.S. IS HOPEFUL THAT COMMON GROUND FOR RESOLU-
TION OF THESE DIFFERENCES WILL BE FOUND.

ONE ISSUE UPON WHICH THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS INDI-
CATED ITS VIEWS IS ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MISSILE TEST
LAUNCHES. THE U.S. DELEGATION WILL ADDRESS
THIS MATTER AT A LATER DATE.

BOTH SIDES HAVEYET TO OFFER THEIR VIEWS ON A STATE-
MENT OF PRINCIPLES FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS.

V. MR. MINISTER, THIS CONCLUDES MY REVIEW OF THE PRO-
GRESS OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS IN THIS SESSION. THE U.S.
WILL WELCOME AND STUDY WITH INTEREST THE EVALU-
ATIONS OF THE SOVIET SIDE ON THESE MATTERS.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SALT (ARMS CONTROL), NEGOTIATIONS, PROGRESS REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 19-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977GENEVA07135
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770300-0301
Format: TEL
From: GENEVA USSALTTWO
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770845/aaaablos.tel
Line Count: 224
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 6b210358-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1552177
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMBASSADOR EARLE\'S STATEMENT OF AUG 19, 1977 (SALT TWO 1360) THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR
TAGS: PARM, (EARLE, RALPH II)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/6b210358-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
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Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009